THE New Republic

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FEBRUARY 13, 1956

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Washington Wire .... *T.R.B.*

Sir Anthony Eden entered the Senate chamber from the side door, and everyone stood applauding. They clapped again when he was formally introduced —the polite applause rose, languished, mounted much higher and then stopped just short of an ovation. Senators saw a tall, thin, immaculate, strikingly handsome man with lots of front teeth, lots of charcoal-gray hair and a figure a little slimmer than expected. Everybody thought of Churchill. Senators sized Eden up as the epitome of another political system, subconsciously wondering if they could have been elected under it.

At his right and left sat contrasting American types, lithe, lean Texas Lyndon Johnson, 40 pounds lighter since his heart attack; on the other side young, burly Californian Bill Knowland, built like a half-back. When Eden spoke, his voice and manner instantly revealed a tremendous swell, the polished culmination of public schools, blue blood and the honing process of the British parliamentary system.

From our gallery seat we watched Senators' faces. They were polite at first after the inevitable America trauma over the first English broad "a." But Eden pitched right in without diplomatic reserve and discussed boldly the joint Anglo-American problem of Soviet economic aggression. We could see interest deepen, Senators listening in concentrated attention, chins cupped on hands. It was good, strong stuff, and there could be no doubt of its impact. Eden pulled no rabbits out of the hat, but we thought he did a first-rate job of direct communication to Congress in the double jeopardy of trans-Atlantic sensitivities. He accomplished something too, perhaps, in reminding Congressmen that there is, after all, an outside world.

Eden didn't mention one uncomfortable fact which few Americans and no Congressmen will face, that the rest of the world generally wants to recognize Peking and that sooner or later intends to trade with her. The US position may be ethically and ideally correct. But almost certainly Eden told Dulles that after the US election this fall, Peking's name will come up for entrance into the UN unless, of course, something really spectacular upsets the apple cart.

The Washington observer is always impressed by the rigidity of Congressional fixed positions. Take a quite different matter nearer home. The fact is that the accumulation of $8 billion worth of food stuffs under the price-support program has achieved results almost as fantastic as Prohibition. Congress is hurrying to give the farmers an extra $1.25 billion. The farmer needs aid and should get it, but the business of piling up surpluses has reached a stage of wild improbability. Storing the present unwanted surplus costs $1 million a day. More than a year's supply of wheat is now stored, yet more is coming in, and the same thing is true of cotton. The new "soil bank" may reduce acreage, but America's experience so far is that better fertilizers, insecticides and laughing Nature keep ahead of lawmakers. Trying to control output by fiat is like trying to control sex. The Democrats propose to nail their flag to 90-percent parity even though the shadow of the $8 billion surplus already threatens the whole market. Meanwhile the consumer's grocery prices are kept up by his own tax money. Wouldn't the Brannan Plan be a lot simpler, to let farm prices fall to their competitive levels and send out checks for the difference to the farmers? Either that or dump the whole surplus into the ocean, and start fresh!

Wires like this are now passing every day from Washington news bureaus to home editors: "Dear Bill: I still don't know what Ike will say, but I'm putting together 5000 words of 'A' matter in case it's 'No'. Ought to come pretty quick now. Knowland asked for a February 15 deadline, you remember, and Ike's MDs make their check next week. For the date, I would guess any time between now and mid-March.

"The worst time for the news to hit a newspaper would be at week-end when it's likely to come. Friday afternoon, after the market closes, would give Wall Street the longest time to snap out of the horrors. Some advance 'A' stuff in type would save our lives for the big Sunday edition.

"I'm writing three pieces. First a review of GOP potentials, Nixon, Knowland, Warren, Dewey, Stassen, Humphrey, Herter and the rest. Better get cuts from the morgue. Can you see a winner in the bunch? Better wire for two more tickets at the Cow Palace.

"Second I'm doing a good inspirational piece on Ike. I know the front office is going to be sore at him if he quits—after all those editorials saying the party is sunk without him, but I think they'll get over that. Remember, Bill, he will still be a powerful force.

"Then finally I've got a political projection—'Republicans closed their ranks today' piece—that ought to hold us for the bulldog. Ike can probably pick his successor at San Francisco if he wants to. He certainly will make TV appearances in the campaign. That means his power over the GOP in Congress won't lapse right away though the Bricker-Bridges-McCarthy Old Guard will have a tendency to shake loose on foreign policy. They've always secretly thought he was a radical, too, on domestic issues.

"One thing you'll have to watch out for, Bill — those statements that the GOP can't win without Ike. Some Commie on the desk might pick up that quote from Nixon, you remember, or that *New York Herald Tribune* front-page appeal for Ike to sacrifice himself as the only hope of his party. Why don't you see if Dave Lawrence or somebody would have an advance column ready saying that Ike's withdrawal makes no difference?

"I'll put my stuff on the wire right away. Of course, Bill, if Ike says 'Yes' you can throw it all away. That's happened to me before."

What we like about Governor Mennen (Soapy) Williams (D, Mich.), who talked at the Press Club last week, is that he is still an unregenerate reformer. He's a big-shouldered, Li'l Abner sort of chap who hasn't stopped talking about the twelve and a half million Americans still living on subsistence standards. Most politicians these days are wedded to their own variety of the status quo.

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BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Playing Politics with the Negro Vote

WHEN leading California Negro Democrats went into huddles with Senator Estes Kefauver last week, most of them were neutral or pro-Stevenson in the state's June 5 primary. When they came out, most declared that Kefauver stands closer to their corner than Stevenson. Whatever else he accomplished in California, Kefauver clearly sharpened civil rights as a major issue in Democratic primaries on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line.

Kefauver told *The New Republic* that in his California sessions he did not discuss the so-called Powell amendment to the pending federal school-aid bill, outlawing funds for segregated schools. What he apparently did promise was unqualified support to controversial projected legislation against mob violence in the South.

As a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Senator Kefauver is in a strategic position to promote this legislation, a major goal of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People since the murder of Emmet Till in Mississippi. While Stevenson did not deal with the proposed mob violence statute in his speech to California Democratic Council, Kefauver stressed his support for such a measure and added a denunciation of the Till slaying as "a horrible murder."

Besides pointing to this stand, NAACP spokesmen maintain that Kefauver is more outspokenly committed in the coming campaign to implement the Supreme Court segregation decision. They cite his appearances against the pro-segregation Gray Plan recently adopted in Virginia (*NR*, Jan. 23). Stevenson, although he visited Virginia during the Gray debate, kept clear of the wrangle.

The NAACP leaders may believe their Kefauver support can be used as a lever to force a stronger Stevenson stand on civil rights, little expecting that Kefauver can win the Democratic nomination. But for Kefauver himself the decision to stake out civil rights as a primary issue appears to be a deadly earnest tactic with balance-of-power Negro primary strength in mind. The appeal to California's 460,000 eligible Negro voters, 4.4 percent of potential voters in the state, came the very week that Kefauver's campaign manager, F. Joseph "Jiggs" Donohue, named as his deputy Frank Reeves, former aide to NAACP general counsel Thurgood Marshall. Kefauver's own lieutenants in Tennessee are flagging warnings northward of back-home danger ahead.

Kefauver's bid for Negro support in Northern primaries coincides with the decision of white supremacy Democrats to make a stand against both Kefauver and Stevenson in Florida's May 29 Presidential preference contest. The new third man in the Florida picture is Ohio Gov. Frank J. Lausche, choice of a conservative Democratic faction which is headed by Miami stock broker F. X. James O'Brien.

Lausche himself has not yet endorsed the move, standing on his past resolutions not to go outside Ohio in the pre-convention period. But O'Brien, who supported Dwight Eisenhower in 1952, says "I'm not going to quit." Lausche's name was first proposed editorially in the *Orlando Sentinel*, following praise of the Ohioan—and criticism of Stevenson and Kefauver—from Sen. Spessard Holland.

Governor Lausche has been mentioned as a rallying point for Southern conservatives since Georgia's Senator Richard Russell spoke warmly of him as a likely Presidential contender in November, 1955.

The immediate cause of the intense pro-Lausche activity in the past week was the defeat suffered by Senator Holland's forces in a meeting of the Florida Democratic Executive Committee. On the day before the meeting, Senator Holland had advocated an unpledged slate — which would have given his sympathizers a place to go when they ran away from Stevenson and Kefauver. The Committee defeated the proposal, shaming Holland and widening the chasm between "loyal" Democrats and those who helped Eisenhower win his 100,000 majority in Florida in the Presidential race in 1952.

The Committee's stand, accompanied by a public censure of National Committeeman Richard Barker for his 1952 opposition to Stevenson, elicited bitter attacks from Holland supporters. In the midst of this crossfire stand Gov. Leroy Collins and Sen. George Smathers, both privately pledged to declare for Stevenson after their own primary battles are over.

Until now Stevenson has held the advantage in the Florida contest with Kefauver. Stevenson organizers turn up everywhere, committing leading figures in all factions to places on the slate and enlisting enthusiastic student backers. Meanwhile, Kefauver headquarters "don't seem to be doing anything," as one Kefauver partisan conceded unhappily.

But the picture can radically change as the civil-rights issue gains importance. Each new Kefauver victory in the contest for northern Negro support will quickly find its way into the propaganda against him in Florida. While Kefauver can now make a forceful appeal to Florida's 120,000 registered Negro voters, he must at the same time face the Southern consequences of tactical gambles which are conceived essentially in Northern terms.

To the extent that Kefauver's claims on civil rights draw Stevenson into a defensive position, forced to make his own bid for Negro confidence, Stevenson too can suffer at the hands of Lausche or his successor in Senator Holland's strategy.

In the long run, all Democrats are sure to lose from intra-party conflict on the emotional race issue. Revival of a Democratic Dixie-crat rebellion can give the Republicans the devastating weapon they seek for 1956.

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Slow-Down on Schools

A GOP-Southern Democrat coalition in the House Rules Committee has the school-aid bill up its sleeve—and means to keep it there. The tactics whereby opponents hope to defeat the bill are now apparent.

At issue is a Democratically-sponsored measure to provide $1.6 billion in federal aid for school construction over a 4-year period. President Eisenhower has recommended a substantially similar bill, but with somewhat lower expenditures each year.

A Rules Committee filibuster, accomplished by prolonged questioning of the first four witnesses, consumed two weeks. And a long list of witnesses remained to be heard. The slow-down tactics were led by Chairman Howard Smith (D, Va.), assisted by Rep. William Colmer (D, Miss.) and Rep. Leo Allen (R, Ill.), who speaks for Minority Leader Joe Martin on this committee. All three are open antagonists of federal aid to education, and have used a threatened anti-segregation rider on the bill as further argument for their side.

"It's the same old Dixiecrat-Midwest Republican coalition," was the way one Democrat on the committee, Rep. Ray Madden, described the tactics. Madden represents the unionized steel town of Gary, Indiana, and supports the AFL-CIO position that the bill should pass without the segregation rider.

These Republicans know what they are doing [Madden told *The New Republic*]. Eisenhower makes the beautiful speeches in favor of school aid, knowing full well that Republican leaders like Joe Martin, Charlie Halleck and Leo Allen will see that nothing constructive comes of it.

The committee slow-down brought out a new fear of Southern Democrats. Chairman Smith said to a witness, "Suppose the bill is passed without the Powell (anti-segregation) amendment. The first time implementation legislation comes up, a Powell amendment will be attached."

"It's possible," the witness said.

"Isn't it probable?" Chairman Smith persisted. "The amendment can just as effectively be in the first appropriation bill, and we all know it will be."

Southerners honestly fear that states resisting the Supreme Court anti-segregation ruling would get no federal aid under this bill, and they would rather have no aid than aid in which they could not share. Republican support of the segregation amendment, while assuming a posture in support of civil rights, has the effect of making defeat of the bill probable.

A leading lobbyist for the bill offers this glum estimate of its prospects:

> Not one of the 110 Southern Congressmen is likely to stand up and vote for this bill now. Joe Martin thought he could pass the bill with a civil rights plank in it, then give up the civil rights amendment in a conference with the Senate. These tactics were supposed to save the President's program, and win some Negro votes for the Republicans. But he badly underestimated the amount of opposition to federal school aid. By playing politics, I am very much afraid he has killed all school aid this year.

After the Bombay Riots

WITH the violent worst now apparently over, the essentially political character of India's internal crisis comes to the fore. The mid-January rioting that turned Bombay into a battleground of warring linguistic camps was severe in its own right as a trial of Prime Minister Nehru's ability to maintain law and order. But as a symptom of the powerful centrifugal force in India, the riots signalled a challenge that cannot ultimately be met by police bullets.

This is the challenge posed to nationalism when 10 major languages exist side by side in a single political state, each concentrated in its own historic territory, numbering speakers by the tens of millions, and wedded to separate ancient scripts. The territories of two of India's 10 languages — Marathi and Gujerati — converge near Bombay City. Itself multi-lingual, Bombay became the tension point where rivalries between the two regions exploded.

As a federation of regional machines organized along language boundaries, Nehru's own governing Congress Party divides accordingly in any interregional dispute. The strength of the January upheaval thus resulted as much from Congress activity on both sides as from the one-sided Communist lineup behind the Marathi cause. Nehru's decision to deny the Marathi claim to Bombay City, in a projected state reorganization plan based on language lines, outraged his Marathi party lieutenants. Their defiance of Nehru put the issue in the open where everyone could make the most of it.

Keeping his party united is Nehru's greatest immediate test. To do so he must obey the elemental regional pressures for linguistic state boundaries, pressures which led him in the first place to support the new state reorganization plan against his better judgment. At the same time, without now reneging on concessions already made, Nehru is

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warning that the regional passions unloosed in Bombay typify endemic weakness menacing India's very existence. Nehru urges states to merge under larger zonal administrative units. These units would straddle linguistic boundaries and would presumably serve as instruments of the central government. Red China, armed with totalitarian central controls that Nehru does not possess, has imposed a zonal framework over its own local units. But the regional variations within China cannot compare with the solid linguistic battlements that reinforce regionalism in India. The zonal shortcut to Indian unity is easier said than done. Nehru confronts a dilemma which will long overhang the Indian scene.

Eden and Ike

EVER SINCE the earliest Roosevelt-Churchill talks in World War II, the strength of the Anglo-American alliance has depended in part on these periodic meetings between two national leaders. In the postwar decade there have been Truman-Attlee, Truman-Churchill, Eisenhower-Churchill, Eisenhower-Eden talks.

All these meetings have certain similarities. They are compressed into a few days. Conference hours are very long. State luncheons, dinners and stag parties are converted into negotiating sessions. And throughout the talks the respect of the two national leaders for each other, and at times a fondness and intimacy of relationship, has contributed to the mellowing of official stiffness and enabled the two countries to present a united front to the world.

By these standards the recent Eisenhower-Eden talks fell short. Mr. Eisenhower spent about 16 hours with Mr. Eden in a three-day period, including about four hours in which the two men were alone. This was much more than the British expected, and represented about half the time that the staffs of the two nations were in session. Mr. Eden, in private remarks to his own delegation, testified to the President's vigor, to his commanding leadership in the American delegation and to his willingness to explore open-mindedly every difference between the countries.

On one issue—that of trade between British Commonwealth countries in Asia and the Communist bloc—it was Mr. Eisenhower who instructed Mr. Dulles to have the American staff re-examine the American position. To this, the British naturally reacted very favorably.

Mr. Eisenhower continued to take his afternoon siesta on doctor's orders, though shortening it on two days to accommodate his guests. The President was unable to give any evening hours to the kind of long, relaxed conversations which marked the Roosevelt-Churchill talks, during which Mr. Churchill was a family guest in the White House.

It is impossible to say whether this curtailment of schedule contributed to the failure of the two nations to reach common position on two of the three major issues in the talks: Arab-Israeli tension, and Formosan-Communist China strife. Some difference of views on these issues was acknowledged in the communique. Only on the third major issue—the penetration by the Communist bloc of neutralist countries—did the leaders reach full understanding. The excellent Declaration of Washington, prepared in advance by joint staff work, was compared by the *New York Times* to the Atlantic Charter which emerged from a similar Roosevelt-Churchill meeting 15 years earlier.

If the Eisenhower-Eden talks were marked by less intimacy than earlier gatherings, it must be added that Eden does not have the warmth or fire of Churchill; nor would it seem appropriate for the President to address Eden familiarly as "Tony." Mr. Truman found it difficult to be on close personal terms with Clement Attlee, but camaraderie was quickly restored when Churchill returned during his last term as Prime Minister.

Britain's Health

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT has just received a heavy blow in its search for a safe means of cutting expenditure and so lowering taxation. An official committee which it appointed in 1953 to inquire into the cost of the National Health Service has reported that, far from offering scope for economy, the Service should have more money spent on it if it is to fulfill its functions properly. Not only that, the Report has found that criticisms which for years have been the stock in trade of Conservative speakers have no basis in fact.

Few of the postwar Labour Government's proposals aroused more controversy at the time than its plan to set up a single comprehensive Health Service which would provide every man, woman and child in Britain with the best possible medical attention at all times without payment. The official doctors' association fought the proposal bitterly, and the Conservative opposition voted against it at every stage.

Yet within a year or two of the Service coming into effect in 1946 it was by far the most popular of all the government's reforms. Indeed, if anything, the middle-class voter was even more grateful for it than the worker, who had previously been covered to some extent against medical expenditure by various insurance schemes. The fact that childbirth, major operations, and chronic illness no longer threatened to wipe out middle-class savings was immensely appreciated by the sort of person who normally voted Conservative.

Thus the Conservatives ceased opposing the principle of a National Health Service, and confined their attacks to its cost. They claimed that by establishing the whole service in one stroke instead of introducing it stage by stage Aneurin Bevan, the then Minister of Health, had been responsible for serious defects in the administrative machinery of the service which wasted millions of pounds a year.

There is no doubt that most Conservatives expected their Committee of Inquiry to show gross extravagance and maladministration in the Health Service. In fact the Committee proved that the Health Service is less per head today than when it was set up, and as a whole it takes a smaller proportion of the national income — 3.2 percent today as against 3.5 percent in 1948-49.

The whole Report is in fact a remarkable vindication of the Labour Government's actions— and must be particularly welcome to Aneurin Bevan himself. For the Conservatives it was a bombshell. It makes it well-nigh impossible politically for the government to introduce new cuts in the Service. So it reduces yet again the Chancellor's freedom to satisfy his own supporters in the Spring Budget, and it underlines still further the fundamental dilemma of the modern Conservative.

DENIS HEALEY, M.P.

London

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Sunny Prospects with an Overlay of Smog

Stevenson Takes on California

A WELL-FINANCED Stevenson cavalcade has spent a whole week in California in bright sunshine, literally and figuratively. Both these aspects represent a record of sorts. For the first time in many years it is possible for a visiting fireman to believe that California Democrats may be able to climb out of their quagmire of confusion, clash and conflict and achieve a measure of stability.

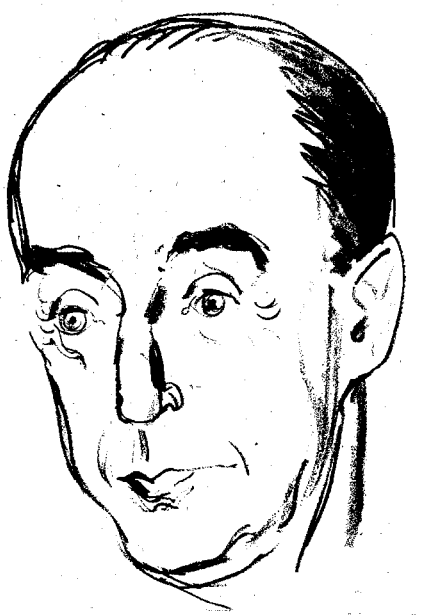
The leverage is Adlai Stevenson of Illinois. Stevenson has made it respectable and hopeful to be a Democrat again in these parts. People are emerging from storm cellars on behalf of one whom the one-party press of the state cannot deride or ignore—or smear. Public enthusiasm for him is high; his San Mateo crowd was described by a local editor as the biggest political gathering he'd ever seen in their arena.

What is being attempted here is much more than an effort to win the Presidential primary for Stevenson. Attorney-General Pat Brown, the only Democrat now holding state-wide office, hopes to win the Governorship. With the organization, the spirit and the grass-roots ties now being developed, Democrats have been winning by-elections for the Legislature. If present momentum can be maintained, they look beyond Brown in the State House to control of the Legislature by 1960. Then they will wipe out cross-filing, they think, and build a party that can stay in power.

Senator Kefauver is an incidental victim of this campaign. He is popular; he is approved as a public man. But he doesn't fit the present grand design of Brown, National Committeeman Paul Ziffren and the rest.

Kefauver probably out-talked and certainly out-promised Stevenson at their joint forum in Fresno—the convention of the Democratic clubs which were set up to channel grass-roots political action for the interim period. The Tennesseean had sat up all night in the plane West, but his tall frame apparently shelters massive reserves of intellectual and physical power. By contrast, Stevenson, so much smaller physically, did seem somewhat professorial.

Within the ranks of those already committed to Stevenson, grumbling about the high-level of the Fresno speech was audible. "We're for Stevenson," went the refrain of party stalwarts looking for specific stands on the issues, "but my, he was poor!" "We're for Stevenson, but wasn't Kefauver good for a Southerner," ran another theme. Or, referring to the stand-up-and-be-



counted posture of Kefauver on the natural gas bill, the Till murder, and Israel, others asked, "We're for Stevenson, but is he so far ahead that he doesn't feel he *needs* us?"

The mood in these pro-Stevenson circles was one of worry, worry that Stevenson might stick to his high level throughout the campaign. Granting that he might be holding back at this early stage of the campaign deliberately, the pro-Stevenson professionals in California are beginning to wonder whether after another month of the Fresno campaign line Stevenson can keep securely in the lead against a Kefauver out to win friends. Nor are they confident that Stevenson actually has a new line in mind for later in the campaign.

Stevenson suggests drily that the voter's head is a little higher than many people think. Throughout he has banked on that belief, resisting pleas from local supporters for more down-to-earth attacks on the Republicans. He all but said at Fresno, "This is the merchandise as advertised, take it or leave it."

He is, of course, remembering with his meticulous sense of obligation that he is reported in the press to a degree primary candidates rarely experience. *The New York Times, Baltimore Sun, New York Herald-Tribune, Philadelphia Bulletin* and *Chicago Sun-Times* have political correspondents with him. All but the Chicagoan are from Washington and possess that kind of saturation in political news which comes with a reporter's life in the capital. No angle or nuance in Stevenson's actions or words escapes them, and through them the world takes notice. He in turn talks to the world, more than California.

To a degree, therefore, Stevenson does resist the intoxication of his admiring crowds. They delight him more than they know, for he is rather a lonely man, but they do not tempt him as they do so many politicians into turning jury lawyer, determined to win the immediate verdict without thought of the telegraph wires and sound waves. In the short view this sometimes means he disappoints his "pour it on" supporters, even worries them. They will not change him.

He is a distinctive figure as he copes with what he has gracefully and, alas, too accurately, called "the burdens and brutalities, win or lose" of the battle in which he is engaged. His nose is big, his hair recedes, he is rather sway-backed. He can be irritable. He has almost a passion against ignorance, and he had to be stopped by Press Secretary Roger Tubby from an irascible practice of telling reporters to read his speeches for some of their answers.

He is fortunate in that Democrats by and large don't hate superior men, but have shown themselves perfectly willing to elect such men President. Stevenson could not hide his preoccupation with

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ultimate concerns even if he were willing to try.

Stevenson received pledges of support from 86.1 percent of the Fresno delegates. He perhaps was nicked by the Kefauver tactic of out-promising him on civil rights which caused a flurry in the lobbies of the Californian Hotel Saturday night and was reported strongly in the Eastern newspapers.

Of course Kefauver is the underdog; he must attack. Of course Stevenson is "disinclined to enter into civil rights controversies," as the *New York Times* account said. The Senate faction led by Lyndon Johnson of Texas is only waiting for him to make a mistake, and this will help him lose the South so they can nominate Stuart Symington of Missouri.

It may be that the Negroes—or at least their leaders—are more restless than Stevenson perceives.

It must be added that if the press can be induced to play up the Fresno flurry, Kefauver will have accomplished his purpose of making Stevenson seem less resolute. Stevenson cites his record on civil rights as governor and says he is not disturbed.

The debate on how resolute shall we be right now breaks out within the Stevenson staff whenever there is time for talk. Before Stevenson leaves California the present strategy needs careful explaining to key members of the party faithful who distinctly were not "sent" by the speech at Fresno. And if the sun is to continue to shine on Stevenson's candidacy as brightly when he leaves the state as when he entered, he must knock together some pretty important heads. His campaign in Southern California, where a majority of the voters live, may soon suffer from the smoldering hostility between Democratic Committeeman Ziffren and State Chairman Elizabeth Snyder, both Stevenson backers. Ziffren is running the Stevenson campaign in the south; but Mrs. Snyder's forces find no welcome mat out for them in the campaign organization or on the Convention slate.

If it is any consolation to any Democrat, factional differences in Southern California are as common as traffic jams and smog, and personal assurance from Stevenson that he intends to let the sun shine in on all his supporters alike may warm the atmosphere that is, at the moment, somewhat chilly.

"We Could Survive . . . Anything Except Stagnation"

THERE has never been a time when Americans were wholly satisfied. We are a people who have lived by our faith in greater tomorrows. In the march of our history we have learned that there can be no turning back and no standing still. Growth is the very order of our existence in America. We could survive, I think, almost anything except stagnation.

Government has an inescapable role in this process. It can stimulate progress or retard it. . . .

Unless we can conceive a further future for ourselves, a second journey, we shall remain what we have sometimes seemed to be in recent years—a nation concerned not with its own destiny but only with its fear of the destiny of its adversary. . . .

The problems which keep us tossing on our beds at night are problems not of death but of life. It is not loss or lack which challenges our genius as a people, but wealth and plenty.

Shall we use our strength to stand still? Shall we use it to build walls around ourselves, imitating our enemies in the delusive hope that thus we can overcome them? Or shall we take this God's plenty and set ourselves a second labor on this continent and beyond it in the world?

Shall we conceive and build for ourselves a new civilization such as men have never seen—a new wealth of freedom and of life—using the material means we have acquired, the leisure we have won, the amelioration of sickness and suffering and the lengthening of the span of life we have been given?

Shall we conceive for ourselves a world truly and creatively at peace in which the Republic shall be secure in the only true security—the security of life and hope? Shall we imagine a nation of enlarged and richer lives in which the great fruitful labors shall go forward—a society dedicated to its proper ends and vigorous with a hope and purpose no tyranny can destroy.

We have the means. Have we the vision?

And this is the great question we are now called upon to solve. The journey to which we were committed in the early days of the Republic has been completed. The new continent has been explored. The rim of the Pacific, Golden California, is settled —and then some; the problem of food has been solved — and then some. Industry has provided our necessities—and then some. A vast and complex system of commerce has been perfected. Our standard of living has been fixed above any present level of comparison. Our science is successful. Our skills are fabulous. We know the how of more know-how than any society in history.

But this is not the end. It was not for these successes only that we set out, three centuries and more ago, from the tidal rivers of Virginia and the Massachusetts rocks. Our triumphs have been spectacular, but each one as we have achieved it has left us questions still to answer.

Today's challenges are more than yesterday's; tomorrow's may be harder still. I do not know. But I do know that we cannot fail to solve our problems as they arise so long as we maintain faith in ourselves, not in dictators or symbols or images, but in each other — and in something higher, stronger and wiser.

The future demands of us no departure from principle, no restrictive new political doctrine. It simply demands that we continue with good heart to adapt to an age of change the marvelous, flexible instrument of government which is our heritage—and that we never lose sight of the better tomorrows—that we make our faith a living thing.

This, I say, is the way—the only way — we can pursue our highest destiny in an age that may, in Toynbee's phrase, see the tribes of mankind become the family of man.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON

Fresno, California

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The Gas Blow-up

STUDENTS of lobbying will write in future years that the night of February 6, 1956, was the windup of a classic struggle for the "engineering of consent." For the voting on the gas bill by the Senate that night ended a 12-month lobbying campaign which may have been the costliest effort ever made to influence a decision of Congress.

The exact cost will never be known because few of the activities of lobbyists are reported under the inadequate lobbying bill now on the books. But members of the Senate said this struggle of the pressure groups easily equalled that of the 1946 drive to remove price controls. In scope it far surpassed the successful effort of the American Medical Association to defeat Truman's compulsory health insurance program.

Veteran Senators said they did not recall any previous fight which pitted against each other such affluent lobbies in battalion and regimental strength as those of the oil-gas producers, on one side, and the public utilities lobby on the other. Add to this the lobbies representing consumer interests, such as the AFL-CIO, the National Farmers Union and the mayors of 158 cities, all of whom opposed the bill—and lost.

At least two Senators, Francis Case (R, S.D.) and George Aiken (R, Vt.) said they voted against the bill because of excessive lobbying. There is no count on how many votes were won over by the pressure groups.

Here are some of the tactics employed: Sen. Aiken said the lobby favoring passage of the bill had drawn up a genealogy of every Senator in order to round up relatives, associates and friends who might bring pressure. One man, he said, called him by long distance from a Midwest city and identified himself as the son of a classmate of the Senator's mother 75 years ago.

Another Senator reported that a former suitor of his wife dropped around to renew his acquaintance and put in a kind word for the gas bill.

A flood of telegrams, letters and postcards was standard technique. Oil companies favoring the bill distributed form postcards through filling stations. Local gas companies opposing the bill sent form letters to their customers with their monthly gas bills, urging that they be forwarded to the two Senators of the state. Sen. Irving Ives (R, NY) received 1,100 postcards and 600 letters in a single day.

The tinge of scandal which crept into the fight in its final 72 hours was treated by the press as surprising and exceptional. After Senator Case complained indignantly that he had been offered a campaign contribution of $2,500 by an unnamed lawyer, a *New York Times* correspondent wrote: "So far as is known, this was an isolated incident that cannot be laid to any of the organizations or individuals openly working for or against the measure." Yet within 24 hours the donor turned out to be a Nebraska attorney who registered in 1955 as a lobbyist for the Superior Oil Company, Austin, Texas.

This incident recalls the refreshing candor of some of the oil executives interviewed by Robert Engler, author of the series "Oil and Politics" in *The New Republic* last fall. Mr. Engler reported that a regional counsel for a large oil company characterized the company's pre-election political relations with aspiring office holders in these words: "You just put good, green, folding money in their lily-white hands and be goddamn sure they know why you put it there."

When Sen. Lyndon Johnson proposed a limited bipartisan investigation of the attempt to influence Senator Case, another Senator, Thomas Hennings (D, Mo.) moved to investigate all lobbyists on both sides of the bill. And when he was turned down, Hennings announced he would start hearings immediately in the Elections Subcommittee, where no additional authority is required. So the old story will be told again.

Reform Makes a Deal in Pennsylvania

AT THE eleventh hour, Pennsylvania Democrats have headed off a bitter party factional war which threatened until the moment of truce to undermine the entire state ticket in November. Now all major Pennsylvania party leaders have lined up behind Philadelphia's former reform Mayor Joseph Sill Clark in his bid for the Democratic nomination to oppose Republican Senator James Duff.

Green

Clark's silk-stocking appeal to independents, coupled with a shining four-year Mayoralty record, boost his chances to at least 50-50 against the respected Duff. Democratic leaders believe that Clark's name on the ticket will strengthen party chances to carry the state for the Presidential standard-bearer.

Even with Clark as the Senate candidate *The Congressional Quarterly* predicts "a close, hard-fought contest." For the Republicans bank heavily on Pennsylvania. Republican control of the next Senate is possible only if the party holds all 17 seats at stake in the balloting and nets two more as well.

The threat of a roughhouse fight in the April 24 Democratic Primary came from Clark's long-time intra-party foe, five-term Rep. William J. Green, Jr., chairman of the Philadelphia Democratic organization and "a ward leaders' ward leader." Their vendetta dates back to the first days of Clark's Mayoralty term in 1951 when Democratic precinct leaders, clamoring for patronage after 67 uninterrupted years of GOP city rule, met a stone wall of civic virtue in Clark. The Organization fought Clark's move to put all but 200 city jobs under civil service control. When he succeeded, 51 out of 52 ward leaders in the city swung behind Green in a fight to the finish "He's against the big city organizations," a Green aide explained. "What the hell, we're a big city organization!"

If Clark had not stepped aside from the Mayoralty race last November—to make way for his political ally, Mayor-elect Richardson Dilworth, and to enter the Senate lists—Green was publicly committed to block Clark's return to City Hall.

Until November, Clark looked like the certain Democratic nominee to oppose "Big Jim" Duff, whose reputation as a member of the "Commodore" Eisenhower in-group makes him a tough man to beat. Democratic Governor George M. Leader and his mentor, National Committeeman David Lawrence, both

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made their preference for Clark clear. Leader boomed Stevenson in a speech to the Democratic State Committee, asking for state candidates with a similar appeal to Republicans. The Leader speech and a Lawrence speech stressing the same theme marked them as pro-Clark in political circles.

Then Green let the word go around in early January that he himself would contest the Clark Senate bid in the primary. Although Leader persuaded both sides to withhold their formal candidacy announcements until February, Green supporter Albert M. Greenfield, a Philadelphia Democratic angel, made a public declaration which brought Clark rushing back from a European tour. Green's price to call off a damaging party ruckus: more control of state and local patronage.

The Green forces backed up their bargaining with broad hints that they would enter Presidential convention delegates in the primary, pledged to Estes Kefauver. Under Pennsylvania election law Green could unfurl the Kefauver banner even without Kefauver's overt blessing. Since the outcome of the Presidential preference primary does not bind delegates, Kefauver is bypassing Pennsylvania in his primary plans. But that made it all the easier for Green to use him as a wedge without necessitating his active involvement.

Green faced Leader and Lawrence on strong ground. He controls a 32-man bloc in the Democratic State Legislature where Leader cannot afford any defections. The Governor sorely needs support to break through a budget and tax legislation bottleneck which is fast tarnishing the lustre of his Administration.

In the showdown last week, Green won the power to designate the state party nominee for auditor-general as well as Leader's appointee to the now vacant $14,000 chairmanship of the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission, both focal points of major State House patronage. In addition, Mayor Dilworth has agreed to pull 600-odd city jobs back into the patronage pool from the civil service taboos imposed in the Clark regime on virtually all 25,000 city posts. Green has agreed to support Clark in the primary and to back up the Governor in Harrisburg.

Leader

Clark

Meanwhile, Pennsylvania Republicans have their own intra-party difficulties. Hard factional lines divide Duff forces from the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association camp headed by National Committeeman G. Mason Owlett. But a primary opponent would have little chance with Duff so well-publicized a visitor to the Eisenhower Pennsylvania farm at Gettysburg.

You're Guilty! But Don't Ask Why

PRIVATE Joseph Hammond had lost 70 pounds when he came home from Korea. The Chinese Communists, who captured him on patrol behind their lines, kept him under continual solitary confinement to punish escape attempts and alleged black-marketing. "Most of my time as a prisoner was spent in jail," he recalls. "Others lived in barracks and private houses."

With a Bronze Star for valor, a 40-percent disability compensation for gunshot wounds and an honorable Army discharge, Joe Hammond married and settled down back home in Toledo, Ohio. In December, 1954, he sent in for his Korean prisoner of war benefits. Public Law 615, passed by the 83rd Congress, grants $2.50 a day for each day a US POW suffered treatment and food below the standard set by the Geneva Convention.

But the law also contains a provision defining as a prisoner of war one who did not "voluntarily, knowingly and without direct duress" give aid to or collaborate with the enemy. The interpretation of this definition in specific cases lies with the agency administering the Law. This is the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, which goes on the assumption that all prisoners of war in North Korean or Chinese camps were insufficiently fed and inhumanely treated during their entire period of captivity. Joe figured on that basis he should collect $2,507 for his ordeal.

He reckoned without The Faceless Accuser. Just one month before the deadline for final determination by the Commission, his claim was denied.

Rep. Thomas L. Ashley, the Ohio Democrat who is championing his case, compares the closed-doors decision against Hammond with the recent success story of legless veteran James Kutcher, who won his disability pension

Joseph Hammond

on the strength of the public backing that an open hearing evoked. "What the Veterans Administration has been doing in retail fashion in the Kutcher case, the Foreign Claims Settlement Administration has been and is doing in wholesale lots," Ashley told Congress. Hammond himself estimates that 250 more ex-POWs have submitted claims that have been similarly denied, but prefer to remain anonymous rather than publicize the slur on their loyalty.

The vague statement of charges against Hammond was lost in the mails and did not reach him until December 16, 1955. That was nearly one year after he had filed his claim and exactly three days before he and his counsel, Charles W. Stevens, assistant director of the national rehabilitation commission of the American Legion, were summoned to Washington for the hearing. With them were Dr. Benjamin Ginsberg, staff consultant to the Senate Committee on Constitutional Rights, and Salvatore Conte, Joe's buddy and fellow POW.

It went well, they thought. For even before Stevens had finished presenting

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all his evidence, which still convinces him of Hammond's innocence, the hearing examiner opined: "There is enough in the record now."

The Commission denied Hammond's appeal even before the transcript of the hearing had reached the Commission. Whitney Gillilland, Commission chairman, allowed that the examining officer had told him all about it—and that was all he needed to know. As for what evidence influenced the Commission's adverse decision, Gillilland later wrote Representative Ashley that "the material before the Commission for security reasons is classified and cannot be made available."

"I suppose, Mr. Speaker, that it should come as no surprise that a Star Chamber body which accepts secondhand and hearsay information as evidence should also come to its decision on the basis of the secondhand and hearsay report of its hearing examiner," said Ashley on the floor of the House.

Hammond told to a reporter of the *Toledo Blade:* "I'm branded as a collaborator with the Reds and by implication they're trying to say I'm guilty of treason."

Hammond emphatically denies giving the enemy aid or information. He says he is willing to re-enlist and stand general court-martial on charges of collaboration because "I am positive such a thing could never be proved against me." The Commission insists that "no one prefers charges or makes accusations. The determinations of the Commission are based solely upon whether or not a claimant factually meets the eligibility requirements."

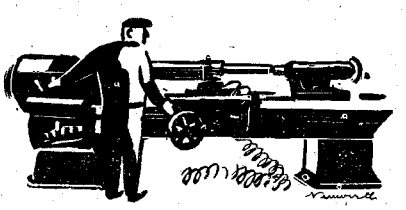
But does Hammond stand accused of aiding the enemy, or is the Commission suggesting only that he did not suffer the degree of hardship envisioned in the law? The Commission doesn't say, pointing only to the secret and therefore unchallengeable derogatory information that suspends Hammond's status and requires him "to establish his eligibility as required by the act."

Hammond tried for a re-hearing. This time Joseph L. Rauh Jr. acted as his counsel and prepared the appeal. But Congress, to speed up the payments to Korean veterans, allows only one year for "processing" claims and the year was up. Joe Hammond's petition for a re-hearing has been denied.

High Pay and a "Six-Hour Day" in Akron

"THERE IS a two-step proposition here," Walter Reuther told a United Auto Workers conference in December, 1953. "We have to nail down the Guaranteed Annual Wage, and then we have to fight for the shorter work week." With the guaranteed annual wage now accepted in principle by the auto industry, the UAW has indicated that by 1958, or 1960 at the latest, the shorter work week will be its major contract demand. And the United Steelworkers have already indicated that they will try to win a modified version of the shorter work week before 1958.

With unions worried over the unemployment potential of automation, the demand of more leisure for workers seems to have economic value as well



as being desirable in itself. But does the shorter work week necessarily result in increased employment or even in an increase in workers' leisure? In Akron, Ohio, the rubber workers have worked a six-hour day, a 36-hour week, for more than 20 years, and their experience suggests that the short work week is far from being an easy or sufficient solution to complex economic problems.

The unwitting father of Akron's six-hour day was Paul Litchfield, now chairman of the board of Goodyear Tire and Rubber, who instituted it at the beginning of the depression as a "share-the-work" scheme. In late 1935 Goodyear restored the eight-hour day, and the newly formed CIO United Rubber Workers took up the six-hour day as a basic demand during its successful organizing strike in early 1936. Except for an attempt by Goodyear to return to an eight-hour schedule after World War II, the six-hour day has remained a part of the Akron rubber scene.

When the Akron rubber worker leaves his six-hour shift, he is as likely to drive a taxi or delivery truck, or even work an additional six hours at another rubber plant, as go home and use his leisure time for his own pleasure or interests. Polling 1,000 members attending educational classes the United Rubber Workers recently discovered that nearly a third held two or more jobs. An accurate poll probably would show an even higher percentage, for most workers with two jobs have neither the time nor the inclination to attend union classes. The URW believes that about 1,000 of their 45,000 Akron members hold two full-time jobs in the rubber plants and almost 10 percent have another full-time job. And one rubber company has stated that at least half of its employees hold two or more jobs. Most of these men hold jobs demanding about 20 additional hours of their time, but an estimated 2,000 also operate small farms near the city.

Despite his tendency to look for supplementary jobs, the Akron rubber worker is on the average the highest paid in the industry. In most cases he is a piece-rate worker, and since the union has managed to win advantageous work schedules in most departments, he usually has enough time to rest a half-hour to an hour before leaving the plant. Akron, being the headquarters of the URW, has been favorable bargaining ground for the local rubber worker. In the Goodyear plant, for example, he makes as much as 36 cents an hour more than his counterpart in the lowest paid Goodyear plant in the South. The "Big Four" rubber companies, all having their central offices in Akron, have reacted to the short work week, strong union and high wages by decentralizing their production and building all their new plants outside of Akron. Goodyear built its third and last Akron rubber plant in 1928, and the pattern is essentially the same for the other large companies.

The extent to which the rubber companies have decentralized is not precisely known, since rubber alone among the major industries has refused to release employment figures for the South and West Coast. It is known, however, that while total national rubber employment from 1939 through 1946 increased by two-thirds, rubber employment in the South tripled. The net effect of decentralization has meant unusually high unemployment in Akron. When total national employment in the production of tires and tubes fell by about 13,500 persons from 1953 to 1954, Akron ac-

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counted for 10,000 of the total. National employment in tires and tubes increased 12 percent from 1954 through October, 1955, but Akron employment increased only 6 percent.

The average rubber worker would prefer to work only six hours and go home to work in his garden or fish in the nearby Portage Lakes. But he realizes production may be cut back, his job moved out of town, or the company may install the new tire building machines now talked about. Significantly, a spontaneous movement arose in 1953 within Goodyear URW Local 2 to *restore* the eight-hour day. It was unable to take over the union, but it did show the serious anxieties of many rubber workers.

Until these anxieties are eased, the Akron rubber worker will work his six-hour shift, keep his second job, and try to pay off his mortgage and car and perhaps accumulate some savings. He only hopes that "something" will happen to keep production cutbacks, automation and decentralization from turning his periodic unemployment into a permanent layoff—and his skills and seniority from disappearing. Until that time he is likely to keep working from 50 to 72 hours a week.

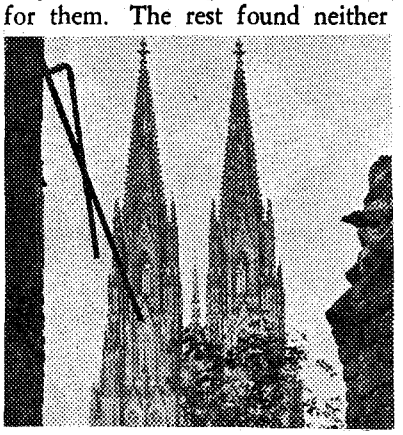
Akron, Ohio. GABRIEL KOLKO

What the German Social Democrats Haven't Learned

ONE of the best turns in a cabaret show in Cologne recently mimicked in robust fashion the cocktail-party manners of Bonn's politicians. Heavily-bemedalled ministers exchanged the latest jokes about Dr. Adenauer; suddenly a hierarchical figure robed in scarlet silk soutane glided into the room and the irreverence melted into genuflections of hushed subservience. Few cabaret companies other than the well-established *Kommoedchen* of Duesseldorf would have dared to stage such a scene in the shadow of Cardinal Frings' own cathedral towers for fear of meeting the fate of the distinguished Berlin artiste who was recently banned from the Bonn stage for a sally of disrespectful remarks about the Adenauer regime.

The Cologne audience delighted in the stage cardinal. That was because they were in fact 500 leading functionaries of the Social Democratic Party, gathered in Cologne for a two-day conference to receive the line for the 1957 election campaign. Their delight reflected at the same time one of the essential weaknesses of their party which they have not yet shown any desire to reinforce. The leaders refuse to face the fact that anti-clericalism in Western Germany does not pay. The SPD has been in a sad plight ever since the death of Dr. Kurt Schumacher in 1952; it has lost its leadership, its originality and its punch, and it can as yet see no way of breaking out of the chalk circle of 30 percent which has inhibited the party ever since it first participated in national elections.

This is something which only a minority of the Social Democrats seem to understand or be willing to accept. They fought the elections of 1949 and 1953 as the straightforward champions of the working classes and were surprised when only half the wage-earners voted for them. The rest found neither



SPD economic theories nor its foreign policy "safe." The party's examination of conscience began two years ago, but only some of the conclusions drawn have been in the right direction. The Social Democrats have, for instance, abandoned nearly all the expressly "socialist" parts of their program. In Cologne Dr. Deist, a co-management tycoon who is rapidly emerging as the party's economic expert, declared that Social Democracy now opposed planned economy and supported "genuine" free competition. He never mentioned nationalization—a slogan which never had any magic in Germany anyway since the State was always a big capitalist — and even conceded that the SPD was prepared to denationalize enterprises which had no political character. Dr. Arndt, the party's vice-chairman, carried the liberal motif farther with an onslaught against the "benighted spirits" in Dr. Adenauer's party and government. His witty vehemence against the weaknesses of Dr. Adenauer's system, its authoritarianism, its intolerance, its insistence on conformity, were certainly calculated to make the free-thinking center look up and listen. But are there so many free-thinkers in Germany as Dr. Arndt believes?

The majority of West German electors think the Social Democrats are a godless party and Dr. Arndt, by attacking the hierarchy, the Reich Concordat of 1933 and religious education did not do much to disabuse them, even though his criticism was aimed at reform rather than revilement. Probably neither the Churches nor the State are served by the fact that religion has been brought into politics. But it is now a century-old fact that cannot be altered. Western Germany is moving rapidly toward a two-party system and the party which has the pulpits against it cannot hope to win an absolute majority. Dr. Schumacher and Herr Ollenhauer have in the past both made attempts to make peace at least with the Evangelical Church, but the attempts were short-lived and found no support among the hard core of old Socialists. The SPD doesn't yet realize that unless it co-opts a few churchgoers into its front ranks it will never qualify for the ordinary elector as "safe."

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Little by Little

by MICHAEL M. DAVIS

HEALTH was and is a personal problem. Yet it has become a public problem also. A substantial fraction of the nation's illness is no longer cared for by individually practicing doctors. Nearly half of our doctors are trained in tax-supported medical schools. Financing research has become increasingly a public function. Out of the nation's $15 billion bill for health last year, federal, state and local tax money paid one third. This proportion of tax funds has more than doubled in the past 25 years. Government has gradually shouldered tasks which the progress of medicine has invited and which Americans have demanded. President Eisenhower's Health Message, sent to Congress January 26, accepts a medical revolution which has unfolded in America during the past quarter century.

President Eisenhower, far from turning his back on this trend, has proposed a number of new steps to enlarge federal health responsibilities and while the money recommended is small, some new doors for future development may be opened. No other President except Harry Truman has given more recognition to health as a national problem in his messages to Congress.

One contrast between Eisenhower and Truman is instructive. Harry Truman asked for much. Congress gave him only a little. Mr. Eisenhower asked for little in his two health messages prepared under Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby. Now under Secretary Marion Folsom the President goes somewhat further and Congress may be more responsive. In fact, Secretary Folsom told the press he did not expect "much difficulty in getting it [the program] through the Congress." Here are some of its chief features:

"Progress in medicine is dependent upon research."—Eisenhower.

Emphasis on research is the most important single feature of the Message. Dramatic medical discoveries and procedures have so impressed the imagination of Americans that research has become both humanly and politically significant. Research is relatively non-controversial. It is also comparatively inexpensive. Fifty million dollars is a lot of research money. The same sum to construct hospitals or support medical care would be a bagatelle. For the National Institutes of Health, the main medical research agency of the national government, increased appropriations of some $27 million are recommended, 28 percent more than the preceding fiscal year.

Increased appropriations asked for the National Science Foundation will also contribute to advancing knowledge in medical fields.

Furthermore, matching grants up to $50 million a year for five years are proposed to aid in the construction of research and teaching facilities connected with schools of medicine, osteopathy, dentistry and public health. This program is new as an Administration measure, but was included among bills before Congress last year. Implicit here is a beginning for the much-argued and much-needed policy of federal aid to medical schools.

"The rate at which physicians are being graduated from the nation's medical schools is barely keeping pace with the increase in population. . . ."—Eisenhower.

The Message then points out that the demand for medical services is increased, among other reasons, by the larger proportion of elderly persons among our people. It might have added that a growing percentage of physicians now enter branches of professional work which, while highly useful, do not make these doctors available for the care of the general population.

Grants to improve and expand research facilities will have only indirect effect on the training of more doctors. The institutions will have to match the grants, and also to raise additional money to staff and maintain new facilities. The basic need of the medical schools is for larger maintenance funds. The need is a national problem, not one that can be solved by most individual schools alone. This is clearly recognized by the President's Message, by the Ford Foundation grant, and by the insufficient efforts of the American Medical Association and the National Fund for Medical Education to encourage private gifts. We may regard the Administration proposal of federal grants to research facilities as a first step, in the least controversial segment of this area, toward national aid to bring the number and quality of our physicians in line with the continuing and growing requirements of this nation.

The Message renews proposals contained in an Administration bill last year—which Congress did not enact—for small sums of federal money to help increase the personnel in three specialized, useful and non-controversial fields — practical nurses, public health administrators, and nurses who would specialize in teaching or administration.

A series of relatively little things are recommended which are good things: among them, further development of rehabilitation; federal aid for experiments in improving care of mental illness; the assembling on a regular instead of sporadic basis of needed facts on the prevalence of sickness.

The well-accepted policy of federal aid to the construction of hospitals was adopted in 1946 through the Hill-Burton Act, which expires next year. The President follows the recommendation of the American Hospital Association in endorsing its extension for two more years.

DR. MICHAEL M. DAVIS *is chairman of the Executive Committee, Committee for the Nation's Health.*

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"The need for more and better health insurance coverage."—Eisenhower.

For two years this Administration has pushed the idea of einsurance as "the best method"—to quote the 1955 Mesage—to remedy the deficiencies—in services provided and n population covered—of the present voluntary health insurnce plans. It is not surprising that the reinsurance bill failed in two Congresses, for it received no active support except from a few Administration officials, who were opposed by groups as diverse as the AMA and organized labor. The futility of this bill was exposed by several men prominent in the insurance industry.

This year, reinsurance is shelved with a face-saving remark—and with the suggestion that the Administration is considering legislation which would relax the antitrust laws so that insurance companies could join, instead of competing, in offering "broader benefits and expanded coverage on reasonable terms in fields of special needs."

The needs especially unmet, the Message rightly points out, are the needs of the aged, the rural dwellers, the self-employed and the "long-term or other especially expensive illness." Most of these are problems of low income. The non-profit insurance plans such as Blue Cross have recognized clearly as in the recent report of the Commission on Financing Hospital Care, that the needs of the "non-wage and low income groups" can only be met by public subsidy either to these people directly or to insurance plans in their behalf.

Bills have long been before Congress providing such subsidy, but they are not Administration measures. The late Sen. Robert Taft had such a bill before several Congresses, and although it would have covered only part of the need, it would have involved $200 million of federal funds annually and at least as much more from the states. That kind of money is not in this Administration's program. Some improvement in the medical care of the special group of needy persons who are in receipt of public assistance is suggested at one point in the Message.

The Administration also renews recommendations made last year for federal medical care or federal subsidy to nearly five million persons, in two large groups for whom the national government has peculiar responsibilities—its 2.5 million civilian employees, and more than two million members of servicemen's families. Unfortunately, however, legislative proposals at present under discussion assume that insurance companies are best qualified to supply the health insurance these millions of people should have. It is not surprising, of course, that this Administration favors an approach friendly to private business. Federal subsidy, direct or indirect, to commercial insurance plans would carry us even further along the road that has led to deterioration in the quality and increase in the cost of medical care under workmen's compensation.

Federal guarantee of private loans for construction of hospitals and allied facilities was an Administration proposal in 1955 and is renewed. Such loans may serve as useful supplements to the normal method by which capital funds for non-profit agencies like hospitals and clinics have been raised. The normal method has been by private or public gifts. If capital funds for building and equipping hospital beds were commonly raised through interest-bearing loans, at least $2.50 a day would have to be added to the current charges to patients in order to carry the interest and amortization of the loans; furthermore, there might result a serious threat to the non-profit, tax-exempt status of the non-governmental general hospital. A business basis for financing non-profit agencies must be handled gingerly.

In brief, the message hardly begins to answer the multi-billion-dollar problem of helping people meet the costs of medical care.

"The specific measures which I have placed before you . . . provide promise for a renewed and reinvigorated attack on our health problems."—Eisenhower.

At least three pieces of needed health legislation lie beyond the limits where the Administration will go.

First: Federal loans, or insurance of loans, to aid in obtaining the initial capital required to start new health insurance plans, similar to some industrial, labor, co-operative and community plans, which now offer to their members comprehensive medical services. The Administration's proposed guarantee of private loans to help in constructing hospitals and allied facilities should be so drafted as clearly to cover such projects.

Second: An extension of Social Security which would provide hospitalization and diagnostic services for the beneficiaries of Old Age and Survivors Insurance. Here is a way to ensure needed care for a substantial proportion of our aged, retired and some other needy persons, without requiring a means test and—according to actuarial estimates—without adding to the present Social Security assessments. This proposal has already been before Congress.

Third: Federal aid to medical schools for the construction of needed facilities and for operating expenses, along the lines of a bill which almost passed in 1951.

Where does this all lead us? If one accepts the basic policies of the Eisenhower Administration, he may well be gratified that the President's Health Message offers so many significant small gains, and we can be confident that some proposals, if adopted by Congress, will push ajar doors which the mounting popular demand for the benefits of modern medical service will later open wide. Very different judgment will be made by those who believe that the human values and the economic returns of sound health programs justify gearing plans to the scale of needs. Certainly the productive powers of this nation could easily pay the cost. Those who look at things from this standpoint will be grieved by this Administration's continuing offers of inconsequential proposals to deal with major problems.

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"The contest between a free society and a tyranny is one in which the tyranny has all the immediate advantages in the colored continents, while we have all the ultimate ones."

A Qualified Faith

by REINHOLD NIEBUHR

THE Asian junket of Bulganin and Khrushchev coming just after the Summit conference is instructive. The two Communist bosses were saying in effect: "We have eliminated the possibility of atomic warfare; now we have the chance to carry on political warfare against the democratic world with a minimum of risk; we will center upon those parts of the world where our creed will seem most plausible and relevant." They thereupon hurled insults at the "imperialists" and "colonialists," assured the Burmese that they were civilized long before their former masters, the British, were. They posed as representatives of Asia, even though they could not possibly make themselves "colored." The technical aid they offered was symbolic of the fact that Russia had negotiated the hazardous road to technical modernity without achieving or appreciating "a democratic" society.

The plausibility of the Communist creed to the two colored continents is enhanced by the fact that the Marxist interpretation of the class struggle and its analysis of the class structure, though always too simple to fit the facts, is much more relevant to the social facts in a decaying feudal structure than in an advanced capitalistic one. It is not surprising that Marxism succeeded only in the agrarian and feudal economies of semi-Asiatic Russia and in China; nor surprising that it still appears to be relevant to the recently emancipated nations of Africa and Asia, who have suffered or still suffer from foreign domination; and whose suffering has not ended with their throwing off of the foreign yoke.

American idealists are inclined to neglect all the political complexities of Asia and Africa and to imagine that "free elections" represent a meaningful goal to the people who live there. They think democracy is a matter of accepting a democratic constitution and they are oblivious to the tortuous history by which justice was established in a free society through an equilibrium of political and economic forces. If they are more realistic, our idealists propose a technical assistance program for the non technical nations, but only few recognize that technical advance breaks the molds of organic communities. Political chaos may go hand in hand with a rise in living standards. A free society is not as simple an alternative to the old feudal society as is the collectivism of Communism which promises technical competence; promises, but does not grant, economic justice; and does *not* promise the individual freedom which the peoples of Asia and Africa have never enjoyed and which seems in any case to be beyond their reach.

But whatever mistakes our idealists make in presenting an open society as a simple alternative to past injustices, they are trumped by the mistakes of our "realists" who insist on regarding our contest with Communism as primarily a problem of military strategy.

The right-wing "realists" of the Republican Party still insist, for example, that China might have been saved from Communism if the nationalists had been given adequate military support. They close their eyes to obvious political and moral weaknesses of the nationalist cause, and to our loss of prestige in the whole of Asia through our persistent military championship of that cause long after it had proved its inability to win and hold the loyalty of the Chinese masses.

SECRETARY DULLES manages to combine the mistakes of the idealists *and* the realists. He has a purely "idealistic" approach to the problems of Asia and Africa when he defines the issues between ourselves and the Communists as a contest between those who believe in the "moral law" and those who do not. He is a military "realist" when he contrives military defense pacts which enrage our neutralist "allies" by driving a wedge between India and Pakistan, and another in the Middle East between the various members of the Arab League. These defense pacts are modeled after the European NATO model; but Mr. Dulles does not seem to appreciate that the analogy he uses to justify them is faulty. For the European community is solid, or nearly solid, in its devotion to the standards of democratic civilization and can be

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onquered only by military force. In non-European nations on the other hand, subversion and political conspiracy are the Communists' chief weapons.

In addition to these mistakes Secretary Dulles has manged to perpetuate an error which was originated before is administration: letting Asian politics be governed by ur relations to our European allies, some of which, particularly France, are still deeply involved in "colonialsm." Thus he allowed himself to issue a joint statement vith the Portuguese Ambassador on the subject of the lisputed Portuguese "province" of Goa, off the coast of ndia, a statement prompted by our desire to renew a ease with Portugal for a military base in the Azores. he consequences to our prestige in India were catatrophic: particularly as the statement coincided with the ndia visit of the two Soviet leaders.

Dulles' mistake was not, of course, the first of its kind. ong ago we committed ourselves to Bao Dai, the French uppet Emperor of Viet-Nam, in order to shore up a prearious French Government. Subsequent French Governnents have continued to be precarious, and we gained othing from our adventure in "realpolitik" but increasng the plausibility of the caricature of ourselves as an 'imperialist" nation.

THE essential problem which democracy faces in Asia and Africa can be briefly stated: Democracy is at once a more tainted and a more impossible ideal than we have realized. It has been tainted for the Asian and African nations because the democratic nations are also he technically most powerful nations, whose initial impact on the continents was imperialistic. Democracy seems an impossible ideal because it seems to lack the essential conditions for attaining justice and stability, within the framework of a free society. Asians and Africans also usually lack the religio-cultural foundation for individual freedom; their religions either lose the individual in the social whole, the family or the tribe (as in Confucianism and in the more primitive religions of Africa), or are mystical religions which seek for the annullment of individuality.

But even if these peoples should manage to gain an appreciation of the value of the individual, more like our own, they must still prove that individual liberty, so much prized by the West, can be made compatible with *both* justice and stability. Freedom is not an absolute value. We think so because we take the values of justice and stability for granted. But these values have been made compatible with freedom by very slow processes of history in the West. If freedom could not be made compatible with justice, the Communist case against a free society would be proved. If free societies could not achieve stability, the Communists would finally profit from the resulting chaos.

Justice requires an equilibrium of political and economic power. The equilibrium of political power was broadly achieved by universal suffrage. But a tolerable justice was not achieved in Western civilization until the industrial workers achieved both political *and* economic power through political and trade union organizations.

Further, the stability of a free society requires not only justice but a measure of moral and political wisdom which sets limits to party conflict and the competition of conflicting interests within the community. The wisdom expressed in the "limited warfare" of parliamentary government is not the simple fruit of literacy or even of intelligence. It is also an historical product, usually the fruit of generations of living together in freedom. The justice and stability which we take for granted have not been achieved in most Latin American nations, though they may have ideal Constitutions.

SUCH an analysis would seem to make our democratic alternative to Communism impossible for nations of Asia and Africa. But while the difficulties must be appreciated, the alternative is not impossible. The possibility rests upon the ability of men to transfer political skills and wisdom from one culture in which they matured into another culture in which they are not indigenous. This ability requires rare co-operation between the tutor nation and the apprentice; and resentments against the imperial tutor frequently make this co-operation extremely difficult. But the experience of Britain in India and our experience in the Philippines, and, less impressively, the Dutch experience in Indonesia, prove that it *is* possible to transfer historically acquired skills. The British have proved in the Gold Coast of Africa that it can be done, even if the apprentice is a budding nation with a primitive culture.

Yet the difficulties of the task make it evident that we have a long-range program before us, requiring not only ingenuity but patience. Naturally it is necessary to resist Communism whenever it presents itself in terms of military aggression, as in Korea, and to prevent the Communist movement from gaining supremacy in weapons, nuclear and otherwise, with which modern warfare is bound to be conducted. Military force is always the *ultima ratio* in the contest between nations. But this ultimate form of logic in the international relations cannot obviate the significance of competition on all other levels —moral, political and economic.

The long ardors of competitive co-existence to which we will be subjected perhaps for a century, cannot be understood at all or borne with patience, if we do not realize that the contest between a free society and of a tyranny is one in which the tyranny has all the immediate advantages in the colored continents, while we have all the ultimate ones. That is why time is on our side, however much the battle may run against us for decades.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

The Misreading of American History

by Peregrine Worsthorne

THE very word "conservatism" has a peculiarly un-American ring about it. True, the New World has a tradition—but it is an overwhelmingly liberal tradition. There have always been, and still are, plenty of Americans, particularly in New England and the South, who do have aristocratic yearnings, who deplore, on social and even intellectual grounds, the open society. But these frustrated yearnings are essentially those of a middle-class attempting, somewhat guiltily and self-consciously, to escape from a dominating egalitarian background.

Admittedly, Southern political conservative thinkers did make a determined attempt before the Civil War to introduce the *ancien régime* into the New World.

But even without the albatross of slavery hanging round their necks I cannot help thinking that their effort was doomed from the start. The truth is, as Louis Hartz has recently observed in his brilliant book, *The Liberal Tradition in America,* the South has always been an alien child in a liberal family, tortured and confused, driven to a phantasy life which instead of disproving the hold of liberalism in America portrays more poignantly than anything else the tyranny that liberalism has had.

If we dismiss the South as of only marginal significance in the search for an American conservative tradition, where else can we look? What about American business, or McCarthy and his followers? We all know that American industrial barons have sometimes been fiercely reactionary in their politics, but at least in their speeches they always cling to sonorous liberal platitudes. If you called Carnegie, Rockefeller, Vanderbilt, Frick, or Henry Ford a conservative he would have put his lawyers on you for defamation of character. And rightly so. How could men who transformed a continent, revolutionized the habits of mankind, men bound by no affection for the past, be termed conservative?

Except for the merely acquisitive desire to hang on to what they had, American capitalists have never shown much understanding of what conservatism is about.

The critics of American capitalism have shown even less. Their main object has not been to check the depredations or greed of business men out for the main chance, but rather to make sure that everyone else has an opportunity to do likewise. They have not so much tried to stabilize and civilize American society, or to limit the restless urge that has kept the continent in a state of flux, as to prevent those in the forefront of the economic race trying to conserve their position by putting an end to the race. They have opposed cartels, monopoly, and other restrictive practices, as evidence of an improper concern on the part of the industrial barons for security and a settled life. In other words, they have never really objected to revolutionary capitalism, but only to capitalists who have become conservative.

As for McCarthyism, it seems to me that this whole conformist movement represents not conservatism, but the ever latent intolerance of an overwhelmingly liberal society, hitherto accustomed to having its own way absolutely, when it first meets a serious ideological challenge, such as Communism. Search as we may, conservatism, it seems to me, sounds no substantial echo in the American past.

YET today, visit any American university, read any intellectual or business journal or serious newspaper, and the word "conservative" keeps recurring like a holy incantation. Young professors will proudly inform you that there is a conservative revival on the campus, and you are as likely as not to find Burke replacing Jefferson on the students' bookshelves. On a recent visit to one of the best New York bookshops I w surprised to see, not progressive volum mapping out a rosy future, but row aft row of weighty studies of the America heritage. This, I hasten to say, was bookshop run by eggheads for egghead and probably customers and managemen to a man voted for Adlai Stevenson i 1952. Its proud display of conservativ literature had nothing to do with lov for the Republicans or fear of McCa thyism. The titles of five of the volume on display are self-explanatory. *Road t the Right,* by Gordon Harrison; *Progra for Conservatives* and *The Conservativ Mind,* both by Russell Kirk; *Conserva tism in America,* by Clinton Rossiter and *Conservatism Revisited,* by Pete Viereck.

I WOULD like here to say why thes New World tories, much as I sym pathize with their principles and admir their eloquence, strike me as a shad naïve and even potentially dangerous. I think they are naïve because, with the exception of Mr. Rossiter, they overlook the essential liberalism of the American tradition; and dangerous because, if they succeeded in establishing a genuinely conservative movement in America, they would also run the risk of producing, as a reflex action, a genuinely socialist movement, which hitherto America has notably lacked. The success of the American experiment to date at least partly rests on there being no ideological differences dividing the parties. In a country of continental proportions, with all the divisive tensions of mixed populations, geographical diversity, and economic conflicts of interest, the additional strain of ideological disagreement might well prove too much for national unity to bear. The only time in American history when the parties were divided on ideological grounds did in fact lead to civil war. I think this is the reason why Burke, if he had been an American, would probably have been a liberal.

After all, if conservatism is to have a healthy growth it must be planted in the right kind of soil. It seems to me that the most striking thing about American history is that the United States skipped the feudal era or, if you prefer it, the heritage of a corporate society. "The American," as Tocqueville says, "was born free without having to become so." One of the central characteristics of the non-feudal society, to quote

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gain Louis Hartz, "is that it lacks a genuine revolutionary tradition. And his being the case, it lacks also a tradition of reaction." With men like Washington and Jefferson as the revolutionaries, it is not surprising that America has never produced a genuine reactionary like de Maestre, or at least never produced a de Maestre able to command a serious national hearing.

THAT is one point. But if European conservatism developed in an effort to control the explosive forces released by the liberal revolt against authority, it would, again unlike its American counterpart, also draw upon an attitude of mind that was a direct inheritance of the feudal ethos. The myriad associations of class, guild, church and place, in terms of which feudal society defined a man's life, still play a large part in the European conservative pattern of society. The concept of status, which still very greatly influences European political and social arrangements, of each man having a place in the social hierarchy, of society as a network of interdependent units woven into a common pattern, are all part of the carry-over from Europe's feudal experience. But, by skipping the feudal era, American society has never been able to understand the concept of class, except in the crudest Marxist sense of one group having more hard cash than the next.

A country that finds freedom the point of departure rather than the goal, will clearly be more optimistic about the nature of man and the possibilities of progress than will a society that sees freedom as a frail and precious plant forever threatened by the gales that blow in the Old World. Conservatism represents the skeptical and cautious side of human nature that sees in history too many examples of the sinfulness of man and the fragility of civilization to look to the future with any degree of enthusiasm. But the size and variety of North America, the abundance of natural resources, the immense currents of immigration, the frontier, the omnipresence of the feeling of freedom and adventure—all these factors helped to create a social and intellectual soil in which the flower of conservatism withered and died.

Alexander Hamilton based his conservatism on the false premise that his love for capitalism must make him hate democracy; Andrew Jackson made the equally foolish error of supposing that his love of democracy must make him hate capitalism. Neither of them realized that in the peculiar American circumstances democracy was capitalism's best ally and capitalism democracy's most powerful stimulus. The Federalist's fear of the mob was absurd in a country where men who did not own property dreamt of doing so, and would never have dreamt for a moment of destroying the goose that might one day lay their golden egg. All that American democracy has ever asked of American capitalists is that they should not form themselves into a closed corporation, a ruling class or aristocracy, that they should not attempt to conserve the economic pyramid, just because they found themselves temporarily at the top.

But that was precisely what the Federalists wanted to do. It was only when they abandoned their conservative principles, their desire to encourage a class-conscious aristocracy, and granted the people their one condition of an open society, that the country's destiny really got under way. "All commoners, all capitalists"—this slogan was the death-knell for Federalist hopes but the secret of the American system, which, by denying the conservatives a mob to denounce and the people an aristocracy to envy, sealed a partnership between American democracy and American capitalism which has been the wonder of the world.

But the partnership has worked so well precisely because American business, whatever else it may have done, has by and large honored its side of the bargain. It has amassed gigantic fortunes, often used its money with vulgar abandon, trampled on the rights of labor, deflowered human dignity, but it has never altogether destroyed the Horatio Alger dream of rags to riches, or so stabilized its supremacy that a shift of the economic wheel could not reduce riches to rags with equal facility.

I PLACE such emphasis on this point because it seems to me that unwittingly the new conservatives are asking American business today to do precisely what it cannot do without upsetting the peculiar balance of the American system.

It is all very well, in the name of conservatism, to appeal to enlightened business men to face up to their responsibilities and take the lead in raising the standard of public life and so on. But what does this mean? Surely that American business should form itself into a modern aristocracy. No section of society is ever wholly public-spirited: if American businessmen are to behave with aristocratic restraint, to accept the onus of paternal responsibilities, they will surely ask for the compensatory aristocratic privileges. And the one overriding aristocratic privilege, on which any virtue in the concept rests, is security of tenure. It is precisely to maintain its position at the

The Wit

"WAIT. Let me think a minute," you said.
And in the minute we saw:
Eve and Newton with an apple apiece,
and Moses with the Law,
Socrates, who scratched his curly head,
and many more from Greece,
all coming hurrying up to now,
bid by your crinkled brow.

But then you made a brilliant pun.
We gave a thunderclap of laughter.
Flustered, your helpers vanished one by one;
and through the conversational spaces, after,
we caught, —back, back, far, far, —
the glinting birthday of a fractious star.

ELIZABETH BISHOP

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WANTED . . .

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top of the social pyramid that an aristocracy concerns itself with the proper maintenance of the base. If American business is expected to interest itself in the base, then surely it will expect some guarantee of its position at the top.

At the moment the American businessman has no security, except his own ability to go on making money. His position in society rests on his success in business. He cannot fall back on the social comforts of a baronetcy or of land or of class solidarity. He is therefore forced, by the terms of his contract with American democracy, to go on struggling in the economic jungle. For him to relax into benevolent paternalism would be to make an assumption that would destroy the whole American dream: that society had been settled and that those on top, because they were there to stay, owed a debt to those underneath because they too were there to stay. To take a paternal interest in the poor is to suggest that they cannot look after themselves. But the dynamic of American society depends on the assumption that they can. It seems to me highly doubtful whether American business can ever afford that degree of economic and social restraint which can come only from men with a position in society that does not rest alone on economic success, without so hedging itself behind the barriers of class that the implicit promise to American democracy would have been broken.

Perhaps this promise should be broken. It is arguable that Alger's dream has been becoming steadily less and less realizable as American capitalism has been becoming more and more monopolistic. Perhaps it would indeed be good for America to have a conservative class. But if this does come about, the workers will sooner or later follow suit. They too will form themselves into a coherent class grouped around a socialist party as they have in Europe. The American partnership between democracy and capitalism would then be broken. That conservatives should risk destroying something that has worked so well is peculiar, to say the least. But then American conservatives are very peculiar: they are in truth the real American radicals.

The Good Boy Who Grew Up

by Gretchen Finletter

WHEN millions of Americans have their eyes fixed on Adlai Stevenson, leading Democratic candidate for the Presidency of the United States, it is a rewarding experience to read of his childhood and youth and discover what the inheritance and influences were that molded so brilliant a comet in the political skies.

Elizabeth Ives, assisted by Hildegarde Dolson, writes with enormous charm her recollections of her brother Adlai, their parents, their schooling, friendship, adventures, travels, ambitions, and tells it so truthfully that there emerges a portrait of the youthful Stevenson with those qualities etched lightly yet already defined which were in later years to enthrall and excite millions of Americans.

My Brother Adlai, by Elizabeth Stevenson Ives and Hildegarde Dolson (Morrow; $4).

The boy Adlai was absorbed in politics, a youthful leader, a witty fellow, an affectionate and loving son and brother, a careful writer in expressing his thoughts, a traveler curious about the world, and already the friends of his parents and his own contemporaries were aware of something exceptional in this boy, marked early by a blazing inner fire.

His sister gives a happy picture of the family life, and one cannot but feel that the Stevenson children were particularly blessed by the best of parents, with their buoyant gaiety and affectionate understanding. The story moves on through the First World War, college days, a career, the Second World War, and the book culminates in a stirring account of the campaign of '52. The memories of those days are still green to most of us, but it is profoundly moving to have recalled again the climax at Libertyville, and to gratefully realize that this time a second chance may be given To Elect Stevenson.

Though Elizabeth Ives intends this

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ork as a portrait of her famous brother, id indeed makes it one, I found the le of her own growing-up, with its ains and pleasures, delightful and per-ceptive, and I would have liked to read much more of the Ives family and what happened to them in their various diplomatic posts.

Koestler at the Crossroads

by John P. Roche

SSENTIALLY Volume II of *A Koestler Miscellany,* this slim volume brings together various essays, ctures, and broadcasts that have apeared since the publication in 1944 of *he Yogi and the Commissar.* However, the emphasis of this collection is quite different from that of the earlier olume, for in recent years Koestler has been moving from political analysis in he direction of cultural criticism and osmology. As he notes in his introluction, this book is "a farewell to rms;" since 1950, he has abandoned olitical questions for the sound reason hat he has already said everything he as to say on these subjects: "Cassandra as gone hoarse, and is due for a vocaional change."

he Trail of the Dinosaur and Other Essays, by Arthur Koestler (Macmillan; $3.50)

Unfortunately, this new vocation does ot seem to me a change for the better. A faithful Koestler fan, I felt perpetuly disappointed by the material in this ook. One or two essays have the old ire, notably "The Seven Deadly Fallacies" and "The Little Flirts of St. Germain des Près," and many are worth a casual reading. But the over-all impact is slight, and I am forced to the reluctant conclusion that Cassandra can only attain genius in the role of political prophet. Cast in the role of lay analyst, cultural anthropologist, or cosmologist, she becomes trivial, or merely dull.

This is a shame, for Arthur Koestler is surely one of the great political analysts of our time and in my estimation the prince of political rhetoricians. The clue to his failure in another milieu seems clear: in political matters, his rhetorical genius remained the servant of his convictions, while in the absence of the political matrix, his rhetoric clanks on tirelessly for its own sake. Even at his best, in *Darkness at Noon,* his characters tended to be puppets manipulated by transcendent forces, but they were nonetheless real. Now we have the forces, but no puppets—we are cast into a cosmological void occupied only by ghostly forms, immaterial Yogis and immaterial Commissars who play immaterial games with each other and with human destiny. Rhetoric, in short, has lost touch with reality, and logic triumphs over life.

A case in point is the essay "Judah at the Crossroads," in which Koestler tells Jews either to settle in Israel or give up their Judaic identity. Pointing out that the establishment of Israel is the culmination of the historic prophecy, the author asserts that Judaism outside of Israel is now a logical anomaly without theoretical justification. I leave the argument with Koestler on the content of the Jewish tradition to those qualified to discuss it; my criticism is solely directed to his rhetoric, for here he has acted as though human beings should be logical categories living in a world of Either/Or. Some of my best friends are logicians, but I should hardly look to them for guidance in a world that logic never made. In short, I see no reason why Jews should be called upon to live the logical life; this would certainly set them apart from the rest of humanity to a far greater degree than do the characteristics that Koestler deplores.

Notes on Contributors

PERIGRINE WORSTHORNE, formerly a Washington correspondent of *The London Times,* now writes for *The London Daily Telegraph.* ELIZABETH BISHOP has published two volumes of poetry. GRETCHEN FINLETTER'S newest book is *The Dinner Party.* JOHN ROCHE is on the political science faculty at Haverford College. DON D. JACKSON is a staff psychiatrist at the Palo Alto Medical Clinic.

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THEATRE

THOUGH our age notoriously lacks direction, it does not lack directors: boards of them in business or hordes of them in the theatre. The Victorian theatre was an actors' theatre; the era of Shaw, Barker, and O'Neill tried to substitute an authors' theatre; but, now that we have no Shaws, Barkers, and O'Neills, it is not the actors who have filled the vacuum, it is the directors. Their contribution to a show is so large that they are not only (to coin a phrase) virtual co-authors but co-designers, co-composers, co-choreographers, co-everything. And they are not just partners but senior partners; if the impress of a single personality is on a show these days, you may be pretty sure that that personality is the director's. To speak of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* will soon be as unusual and eccentric as to speak of Schikaneder's *Magic Flute*; the playwright is just a librettist; the composer's name is Reinhardt, Meyerhold, Piscator, Baty, Logan or Kazan.

The British stage has, on the whole, resisted this modern tendency, resting content with good individual performances roughly-and-readily integrated by a fellow actor or a "producer," who is little more than a stage manager. But, today, the directorial virtuosi of America and the Continent have at least two rivals in England: the Russian-born Peter Brook and the Irishman Tyrone Guthrie.

The 1955-6 season will go down in stage history as the one in which Mr. Guthrie took Broadway by what can accurately be called storm. In less than the time of three rehearsal and tryout periods, he has brought three productions up to a standard of technical proficiency unsurpassed in our theatre. All three—Wilder's *Matchmaker,* Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and Pirandello's *Six Characters*—have a gusto and a flamboyance that betoken a tremendous gift in their director. All three are full of movement well conceived and well controlled, of groups well grouped, of masses well massed, of ingenuity, of surprising "ideas" . . . All three this, and all three that: my point is best made by citing the fact that three plays which are so different that they would prompt no comparisons at all, the one with the other, have blended, in my memory of the three productions, into a single impression. For example, one of the memorably theatrical "moves" is that of an actor's popping up between another actor's legs. *Tamburlaine? Six Characters?* Both! What can be done in one play can be done in another. Three plays have become one. The not only divergent but incommensurable personalities of Wilder, Marlowe, and Pirandello have been subordinated to the one personality of Tyrone Guthrie. This fact guarantees that each evening will indeed be an entertainment; for Mr. Guthrie's personality as it comes through to us in his work (obviously, I am not concerned with his *private* personality) is wholly that of the showman. But we have the right to ask: what kind of showman? Also: how satisfactorily can Wilder, Marlowe, and Pirandello, respectively, be subordinated to the mind and art of Mr. Guthrie?

Personality being unique, each case is distinct. The results are most satisfactory where the author's personality is least strong. Of *The Matchmaker*, my complaint is only that Mr. Guthrie stands too close to the rather effete semi-culture of more high-brow British theatre; a George Abbott production would have been funnier for being less fancily facetious. Guthrie and Marlowe might seem to have in common the cynicism inherent in "sheer theatricality," yet further consideration suggests that, while *Tamburlaine* is immoral, being, as C. S. Lewis says, "the story of giant the Jack killer," Mr. Guthrie is only amoral, and lightheartedly so (again as partaking of the "esthetic" insincerity of the West End). Where Marlowe was defiant, Mr. Guthrie is only amused; where Marlowe, in his colossal error, was at least spunky, Mr. Guthrie, behind all the external false energy, is tired and perhaps even bored. The cries of Bravo when one of Tamburlaine's victims is hoisted in air and transfixed by arrows are a true index to Mr. Guthrie's interpretation. Brooks Atkinson gets the impression that Marlowe (the bow and arrow man) was unsophisticated! In truth, Marlowe and Guthrie are both as sophisticated as you can get, but while Marlowe's sophistication is youthful, nihilistic and intellectual, Mr. Guthrie's is blasé, apolitical, and trivial.

Pirandello has twice depicted directors of Mr. Guthrie's tendency (if not with his talent), and it is an irony that Mr. Guthrie should have the job of putting one of them on stage: the director in *Six Characters,* On the face of it this event constituted Mr. Guthrie's revenge; for his production invert Pirandello's main thesis and proves, instead, that directors and actors are more real than a writer's characters. But, with Pirandello, you always have irony within irony, and, by the end of the evening what Pirandello says about directors has been amply demonstrated—namely, that they come between the audience and the experience the author wished to communicate.

Before creating the Guthrie-like director of *Tonight We Improvise* Pirandello had been in Berlin; to his praise of the "miracles" of Reinhardt and Piscator, he added (in a press interview) the observation that, nonetheless the work of the new directors could be "a crime committed against the spirit of an artistic creation." Those who go to Guthrie's *Six Characters* in a state of primal innocence will rightly enjoy a "marvellous show," but those who know what Pirandello's tragic sense can mean in poignancy and beauty, not to speak of insight, must feel cheated of the main content of the piece. It was good to turn the attention of our public from mere philosophy and to bring out the humor of the script; but Mr. Guthrie brought out much humor that is not in the script at the expense of the searing tragedy that is; so that his untragic *Six Characters* is continuous with his unserious *Tamburlaine*, just as that *Tamburlaine* was continuous with a farce, *The Matchmaker.*

Now while we may be prepared to have directors take up small scripts and make them large, it is a question whether we want them to take up large scripts and make them small. And if, like Pirandello, we do not, we must also, like him, impugn the whole idea of a directors' theatre. In the drama schools today the advent of the director ("circa 1900") is presented as a giant step in the march of progress: poor benighted Kean, Garrick, Burbage, how did they get along without? But it would also be possible to view the director critically.

ERIC BENTLEY

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A Psychiatrist Comments

The Loneliest Man in Town

AS A PSYCHIATRIST, I belong to an ever-increasing group of doctors of medicine who have in the eyes of the majority of their colleagues gone astray: a group who will earn appreciably less income than other specialists compared to years of graduate study, and a group who will rarely conjure up in the public eye the warm, reassuring tobacco-and-tweed picture of "my doctor."

One of the joys of visiting a physician stems from the possibility of dumping troubles in his lap. The obnoxious thing about the good psychiatrist is that he does not take over but reflects the troubles back upon the patient, and these reflections beget further troubles, and so on ad infinitum.

The psychiatrist sets himself off from his medical brethren by the passivity of his tool, listening. More than this, he sets himself off from all people by the nature of what he listens to and by his attitude toward it. The psychiatrist listens to private troubles, to remote, autistic and evil thoughts, to what our best friend doesn't hear from us; and he does not hate us for it—which is often a new experience, and often reassuring, but often unforgivable. His very inscrutability and understanding put him in the role of the Devil's advocate. The minister, the priest can listen to sin because they can forgive, because they can split it off from the rest of the person, because they offer home through redemption and expiation. The psychiatrist does not see sin as such, but insists on working it into the web that becomes the emerging unconscious personality.

Let me stop a moment and contrast the situation with what generally obtains in the relationship between a patient with organic disease and his physician:

(1) The patient unless he be a very young child, either initiates or cooperates in the contact with the physician. He usually feels something is wrong which the physician (in contradistinction to a lawyer, minister, etc.) can properly diagnose and treat. He often has a fairly clear notion of the general aspects of his special difficulty.

(2) The patient (again there are exceptions) feels no conflict is generated between him and those others who are significant to him, be they the real others in the flesh or the mental images of them he carries about in the form of a conscience. If anything, the patient feels good about seeing the doctor and feels that the family can only be pleased.

(3) The patient is aware of no onus being attached to his seeing the physician, unless perhaps he has a venereal disease.

What about these factors in relation to visiting the psychiatrist?

(1) The patient, unless he is unusually sophisticated, is not clear that he belongs in a psychiatrist's office and may make mention of the fact that medicine, spiritual healing or whatever is probably what he really needs.

(2) The patient begins to find himself in conflict with the people in his mind and often with significant people in real life. He partially blames his psychiatrist for putting him in this predicament, and if there are open conflicts with real people their frame of mind toward psychiatry is not improved by the knowledge that the patient was much nicer before he saw Dr. Blank. Furthermore, a change in the patient because of psychotherapy may upset those closest to him and cause them to experience emotional disturbances during the course of the patient's recovery.

(3) The patient is very much aware that he is either "crazy" or "weak" or he would not require the services of a psychiatrist. With most of us, a visit to the psychiatrist carries a modicum of shame.

(4) The chief tool of psychotherapy is the study of the patient-doctor relationship, or what Freud called the transference; and the process itself creates great differences from what one ordinarily expects in visiting a physician. The psychiatrist is not in the position of offering a bouncing baby boy, nor may he participate in the joy of a successful operation. Instead, everything that the patient puts into the relationship and, optimally, everything the psychiatrist contributes must become the subject of scrutiny. Even should a Christmas present for the doctor appear on the scene it must become an object of study. It does not seem surprising that psychiatrists' closets refuse to bulge with gifts.

But the psychiatrist's loneliness is not confined to the four walls of the consultation room. In his social life he may also have twinges of doubt about his particular cross. At a cocktail party the latest psychiatric jokes are beamed in his direction. Then in sudden striking contrast an eager, serious mother traps him in a corner and haltingly demands the explanation of her son's bedwetting. Of course it would be easy to avoid this all-or-nothing-at-all status by seeking the company of others in his field. But then one tends to talk shop and one's wife makes known her resentment about being shoved into a corner.

Finally, another factor that tends to isolate the psychiatrist from his brethren relates to the expectations that the public has of him. Despite the prevalent notion that only screwballs go into psychiatry, the public paradoxically expects the psychiatrist's behavior to be flawless. A graphic illustration occurred recently when a young psychiatrist was given the maximum sentence by a judge who commented: "I am giving you the maximum penalty provided by law because with your training you incur a responsibility that should have prevented your breaking the law."

I have been presenting, obviously, but one side of the story. Little has been said about the fascination of following unconscious labyrinths, about the creative thrill of aiding tragedy to turn to effectiveness, or the essential closeness that stems from sharing misery with a patient. Despite the feeling of sometimes being ostracized, maligned or misunderstood, with the devoted psychiatrist there is no turning back; he is fastened to his chair by the sea of troubles. As Lindsay put it:

His head is bowed. He thinks on men and kings.
Yea, when the sick world cries, how can he sleep?
Too many peasants fight, they know not why,
Too many homesteads in black terror weep.

DON D. JACKSON, M.D.

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CORRESPONDENCE

► Mr. Stevenson's Candidacy

SIRS:

Your editorial on *The Reporter's* letter to Adlai Stevenson (*NR,* January 16) was great. What I like about *New Republic* is not only your ability to be clear-thinking and straightforward, but also your willingness to point up phony and half-baked circumvention whenever you see it. . . .

WARREN L. SWARTZBECK

Trevose, Pa.

". . . he isn't a liberal"

SIRS:

Your recent piece on *The Reporter,* re Stevenson . . . was worthy of *The New Yorker's* Wayward Press series.

On the other hand, I *can* understand a liberal's reluctance to be ecstatic over Mr. Stevenson now (as compared to last time), and I am a little baffled as to why a liberal publication such as yours, would adopt such a worshipful attitude.

I think most people who have considered Mr. Stevenson at all realize he isn't a liberal, and never pretended to be. . . . He has said nothing of substance on these issue: FEPC, natural gas bill, national health insurance, public housing, the MVA and conservation in general, Dixon-Yates, the security program, foreign economic aid. . . .

The reason for this? Obviously, *votes.* He has become respectable, even to the South. . . . He is changing from a statesman to a politician, and it is to me a great temptation to cast my vote for a Kefauver or a Harriman. . . .

JOHN G. KNECHT

Northbrook, Pa.

. . . "the proper independent stance"

SIRS:

The New Republic is to be congratulated for picking up where it left off in November 1952 and going on from there. You haven't even bothered to declare formally for Stevenson. On the other hand the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and *The Reporter* have seen fit to go back and start from scratch. . . . Both dutifully assume the proper independent stance.

I think that independence has become such an established and respected attitude that it's permissible to speak of stand-pat independents or dyed-in-the-wool independents. . . .

And the independents prefer to stand aloof, preserving their uncommitted status, as if it were of value in itself, while the very forces they wish to be independent of have a chance to kill off the object-in-being of their independence.

JUNE GREENLEAF

Terre Haute, Indiana

► Highbrows and their Standards

SIRS:

The most significant thing about Dwight Macdonald's outraged attack on my attack on his attack on *Omnibus* (*NR,* Jan. 30) is that he reads "Macdonald" everywhere I wrote "highbrow." Thus, eagerly appropriating the title, he becomes the Highbrow and I, (as a person of whom he has never heard), become the Philistine, the Anti-Intellectual, the first cousin of Senator Joseph McCarthy. It's a nice dichotomy, from Mr. Macdonald's point of view, but I can't accept it.

Mr. Macdonald says that in his comments on *Omnibus* he was simply insisting on high cultural standards. In reading those comments I got the impression that he was making a snide and snobbish assault on a very good television program. I felt then, and I still feel, that Mr. Macdonald never set up any cultural standards of any kind, that, instead, he relied upon an overwhelmingly superior tone to persuade his readers that the offerings of *Omnibus* are thoroughly shoddy stuff.

So I disagreed with Mr. Macdonald, and thereby put *The New Republic* to shame. For Mr. Macdonald is depressed to find this magazine printing an article which challenges his opinion. He feels he has been stabbed in the back. *The New Republic,* he says, *used* to be highbrow. I would remind him that it co tinues to be a journal of opinion.

Before promising to avoid the wo forevermore, let me say something abo "highbrow." It means a person of i tellectual tastes, true; but in popular u age there is also the connotation snobbishness. I used it in that popul sense. I will always respect the intellc tual, the rational man, the egghead, b I will always loathe the snob—intelle tual or otherwise.

In reference to Delmore Schwartz letter, the week before, I have little say. His loyalty to Mr. Macdonald w moving. His "corrections" of my co ments were, in some cases, absurd. F example, he spent a good many wor contradicting my "misleading" citatio of the *Omnibus* production of *Kin Lear*—a citation which appears nowhe in my article. Mr. Schwartz suspecte some sinister intent in what I had to sa and demanded to know just whom, what, I was defending. I was defen ing *Omnibus.* I was trying to say th the people who attack this attempt what is at least semi-cultured TV a the very people who should, logically most applaud and encourage it. This w the gravamen (I looked it up, Mr. Mac donald) of my charge.

DAVID R. EBBIT

Chicago, Illinois

. . . support for the social science

SIRS:

Dwight Macdonald is highbrow an *Omnibus* is not, and that's that.

I have quite a different bone to pick

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ith Mr. Macdonald, arising out of the me *New Yorker* series on the Ford oundation that annoyed David Ebbitt *NR*, Jan. 2). . . .

Mr. Macdonald deplores the attempt apply the methods of the "hard" na- ral sciences to the "soft" behavioral iences, contrasting the results unfavor- ly with the creative work of such great soft" pioneers as Hobbes, Rousseau, *et l.*, down to Freud. He says this attempt ads only to "grandiose and sterile roup projects', since the amount of ata required is more than one person n gather or handle." But obviously it possible to begin from quite a differ- nt premise, that the great work of the dividual pioneers has largely been one, and that most of what remains to e done must be done by groups precise- because the amount of the data re- uired "is more than one person can ather or handle."

The extent to which the social sciences an be advanced by empirical research is erhaps still an open question, but the nswer clearly will not be found by reating the question as closed. Many eel that these disciplines are over-ripe or the application of empirical research, nd are unlikely to advance unless it is ndertaken. . . . By Mr. Macdonald's ccount, a major justification for the ord Foundation's expanded program vas to support a continuation of pro- ress in the social sciences across a roader front. . . . It was inevitable that here would be criticism, often quite roper, of misdirected effort and ex- essive cost. But the amount being spent n social science research is in fact not drop in the bucket compared with vhat is being spent for research on *hings.*

What I deplore is the evident growth f a disposition among highbrows to nipe at this field of human effort, be- ause the uninitiated cannot see the elevance of what it is trying to do, or ecause, unhappily, its written products re not literary. . . . Social research is urrently being supported, against great dds, by the middlebrows in govern- ment, in the universities, in the founda- ions, and even in industry. It urgently eeds the support of those who, like Mr. Macdonald, are devoted to the maintenance of "high standards."

JAMES E. KING, JR.

Garrett Park, Maryland

► Fraternities Without Brotherhood

SIRS:

I am a member of the Phi Kappa Tau Fraternity at Hobart College. Nationally Phi Kappa Tau is a christian (small "c") fraternity, with its 70 chapters scattered throughout the United States. There is nothing in its constitution stating that Negro or Jewish students may not be taken into the folds of brotherhood.

The Negro situation is a delicate one. This chapter has been told by a representative of the national organization that while Negroes are not officially banned, the entrance of one into a given house would alienate 17 Southern chapters.

The national, not desiring to lose one-quarter of its members, will not permit Negroes. . . .

Hobart is a liberal arts college in western New York State, with a small percentage of Jewish students. Individual houses have some laxity in determining the members they would like to take in. In the past, this chapter of Phi Kappa Tau has chosen to have a Jewish percentage higher than that of the school. . . . The national decided that something should be done. A representative was sent down to "look over the situation." He stayed for five days and decided that starting immediately, no more Jewish members would be taken into the fraternity.

The justification for his decision was given through analogy. He said that as a house composed of too many athletes or scholars is undesirable, so is a house of too many Jews. . . .

A fraternity is not as respectable as it might think itself. How can an organization be virtuous when it advocates racial prejudice in place of true brotherhood?

JAMES JAFFE

Geneva, New York.

. . . "sour grapes"

. . . . It has been my experience that the best college men, both undergraduate and alumni, are fraternity men. . . . To me, it sounds like Mr. Malcolm suffers from a bad case of sour grapes. He has missed the point of fraternity life altogether. What, may I ask, has he done for Michigan since he left school?

RICHARD LANDSMAN

Roslyn Heights, N. Y.

BANDWAGON

THE City Commission of Montgomery, Alabama, has tightened its get-tough policy against Negroes who have been boycotting city buses for seven weeks. White residents of the city have been asked to quit giving rides to Negro employes. Mayor W. A. Gayle says Negro servants who refuse to ride the buses are fighting to destroy the Southern social fabric just as much as Negro radicals he said are leading them.—*AP Radio Wire,* January 25 1,956.

STARTING today, one can dial a number in Jamaica and reach "inspiration."

The number is JA 3-4020. It connects with the recorded voice of Auxiliary Bishop John Boardman of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Brooklyn, who prompts callers to join the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. The Bishop concludes by asking God to bless the caller. . . .

The messages are provided "through the courtesy" of a Jamaica funeral home, where the telephone hook-up is located.—*New York Times,* January 21, 1956.

THE LATEST issue of the *Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung,* a veterans' publication in Munich . . . urged greater awareness of the fact that "the Bonn government is living off the dividends of the moral capital that the German armies have built up in the world in the last 200 years."—*New York Herald Tribune,* January 15, 1956.

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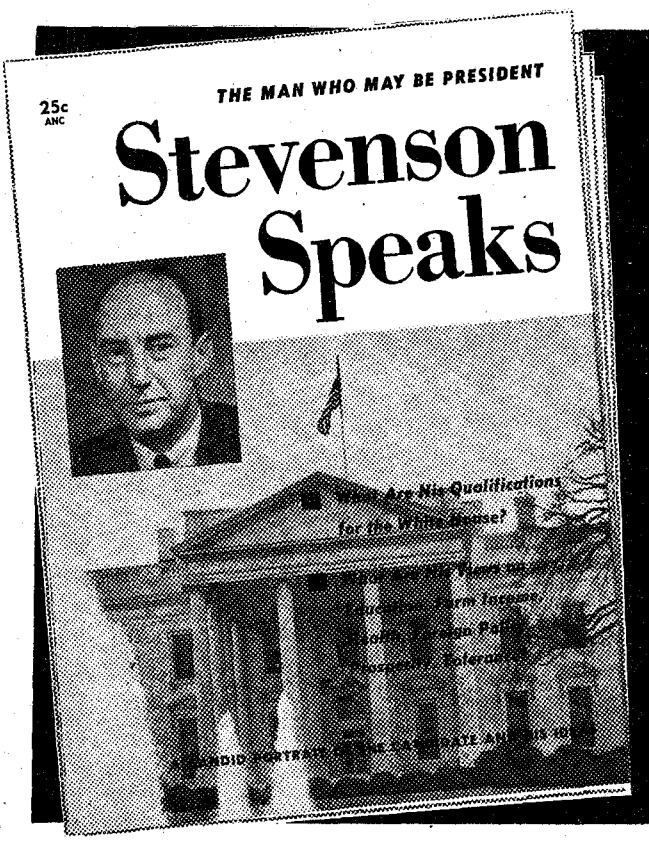

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